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THE Nation

March 12, 1955
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How Strong Is India?

Audit of the Five-Year Plan

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Bonn's Disastrous Victory

by Carolus

MAR 11 1955

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Disunity in SEATO — *O. Edmund Clubb*
Forum for Liberals — *A New Feature*

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TODAY'S QUESTION: ARE THE DIFFICULTIES OF LIBERALISM DUE TO ITS ADHERENTS' VIEWS OF HUMAN NATURE?

Affirmative

LIBERALISM has reached a crisis where immediate measures must be taken to save it from extinction. What are the causes of the crisis? No philosophical or ethical system can be permanently successful unless it reflects reality. Liberalism's crisis is due to a faulty analysis of the nature of man. According to the liberal creed, man is a product of his environment and hence if he can be surrounded with good things, both in a material and a spiritual sense, he will never be tempted to commit evil acts. Liberalism, in fact, would deny that evil exists. Most liberals, I am sure, would prefer to ascribe phenomena like crime to the economic or political structure of society. In the utopias of the liberals, no-admission signs are to be erected which will exclude both God and the devil.

While this view could withstand the shock of Freudianism, behaviorism, and other creeds which denigrate man's dignity, it could not survive the shock of the atom bomb. Belief in man's essential goodness is incompatible with saturation bombing and the gas chambers of Hitler's Germany. If the liberals themselves did not realize the impasse their position had brought them to, the average citizen did. Having nowhere else to go, he tended to turn to the authoritarians who were ready as ever with their special nostrums of obediance, tradition, and respect for authority. Hence the anti-intellectual quality of so much of contemporary activity.

Liberalism, of course, could not remain impervious to the new feeling in the air. Faith in man and hostility to institutions always go together. As the belief in man declined under the impact of twentieth-century violence, the liberal opposition to current norms and values weakened.

Liberalism needs to be reborn. No patchwork can save it. To regain vitality, liberalism should, it seems to me, first discard its one-dimensional view of man. The new view must be founded on a synthesis of religion and psychology. Both have to do with the nature of man and his relationships to God and his neighbor. Here is the crux of the matter. Psychology and religion—particularly the Christian religion—are in agreement that man is profoundly sick. To use an old-fashioned term, man is possessed of demons. The demons (manias and fixations, if you prefer) prevent men from loving as mature human beings. They love neither themselves nor others. Man must be cured of his sickness before there can be any real hope of a change for the better in our society.

Because politics and economics are expressions of man's relationship to his neighbor, a liberalism which hopes to be viable cannot dismiss them as irrevelant. Therefore liberalism will always be concerned with such problems as the relation of human freedom to corporate power. The mistake of the liberals up to now has been to overrate the importance of politics and economics, just as it has been the error of psychologists to underrate them.

Most important, the new liberalism must restore to life the element of personal responsibility. In regarding man, it should continue the fierceness of Isaiah with the cleansing power and yet the love and the mercy of Jesus. It will acknowledge the evil in man, his imperfections and fallings from grace, as well as his goodness. It will be less cocksure in its judgments, less facile in its prescriptions. It will hold up goals truly worth striving for. It will regard the whole man, realistically and tenderly. It will love man, not dogma, and it will be of the world as well as in it. For, imperfect as they are, the world and man are all we have to work with.

HERBERT M. ORRELL

Negative

OF COURSE the condition of liberalism is critical. It usually is. This is an age in which some men derive pleasure from the contemplation of "crisis"—in art, in politics, in civilization itself. For there is drama and unconscious sexual symbolism in the image of climax. But another figure of speech seems more appropriate. There is nothing like a period of almost total political impotence for liberals to pass the time of day arguing about their "desperate" condition. While controversy about diagnosis may seem wasteful, it is clear that there can be no effective remedy until we agree about the precise nature of the ailment.

Are the difficulties of liberalism due to its adherents' views of human nature? Theologians and philosophers may illuminate the problem, but the study of personality is properly one of the tasks of psychology. As yet this discipline has produced no evidence that would justify either a wholly pessimistic or optimistic theory of human nature. Today, social psychologists describe personality as the result of interplay between biological and cultural factors. Since the latter vary widely, it is impossible to speak with any seriousness about the "evil" or "goodness" of man. At any rate social science recognizes no such categories as inherent in the nature of man, and if liberals are to remain faithful to their empirical traditions, they will be cautious about adopting simplistic doctrines of human nature. For example, the Polynesians are hardly implicated in the "guilt" which we may share for the development and use of nuclear weapons.

Undoubtedly, many liberals have been naive about the human capacity to perform violent acts, just as some of the enemies of liberalism have exaggerated destructive tendencies. But it is just as erroneous to attribute a utopian conception of human nature to liberals collectively as it is to call them the "dupes" of communism. It requires no great effort of the imagination to recognize that our age has been particularly barbarous, and if idealists have been sobered by the panorama of violence, this may be regarded as a net gain. But the fact that men are often destructive does not prove that they are inherently "evil" or "sick."

In the light of modern history and the findings of psychologists, the liberals' view of human nature can and should be as "hard-boiled" as that of the Communists—making full allowance for powerful tendencies toward violence, but also recognizing that generous impulses are no less universally human. For it is not to the destructive impulses in men to which liberalism must appeal but rather to their capacity for moderation and cooperation.

(Continued on page 228)

Readers are invited to contribute to Forum for Liberals, a page of debate which will appear occasionally in this space. Contributions must not exceed 600 words and must take the affirmative or negative on a specific issue to be announced in advance. We will pay $20 for each accepted contribution.

The next issue for debate will be: "Would a depression help the Right or Left in the United States?" Manuscripts must be typewritten and addressed to Forum Editor, The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York City.—THE EDITORS.

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VOLUME 180, NUMBER 11
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1955

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

The Responsibility for Gaza

The Egypt-Israel border clash at Gaza is a startling reminder of the dangers in the continuing abnormal situation in the Middle East. Although the U. N. Mixed Armistice Commission, by the deciding vote of its chairman, charged Israel with responsibility for the incident, such clashes will remain inevitable as long as there is no permanent settlement of the Palestine war.

In the larger context, it is of small moment which side was directly responsible for the latest outbreak. Ultimately responsible is the failure of the principal powers, particularly the United States and Britain, to insist on peace, formalized by an Arab-Israel treaty. The countries which were able to bring about an end to the fighting in 1949 through armistice agreements could today bring about discussions for peace. That this has not happened is due not to lack of capacity but to lack of will.

Both Britain and the United States, each for different strategic reasons seeking to unite the Arab states in alliance with it, have been reluctant to push them into a peace they obviously do not now want. The Arabs have interpreted this reluctance as an invitation to intrasigance. Even so not a single Arab League sponded to the West's courting until the United States finally induced Iraq's defection from the Arab League with the bait of free arms and the exclusion of Israel from consideration for arms or alliances. The most recent border incidents are the reaction by both sides to internal conditions produced by this policy which for the moment has removed Egypt from its central position in the Arab world and rendered even more unstable the government of Colonel Nasser.

Security Through Peace

The border clashes render the whole area inflammable. And what is to keep them from multiplying? For six years the Arab world has been told by its leaders that its principal enemy is Israel. The Israeli population has been harried for six years by attacks on all its frontiers. Now, isolated by the new American policy from any hope of peace with its neighbors, small wonder if Israel has adopted the desperate tactic of armed reprisal.

All this adds up to an explosive situation which could wreck Western hopes for a Middle East defense group. Our present policy is short-sighted in many respects. There is no assurance that the Iraq government, or any other Middle East government which signs arms pacts with Turkey as a preliminary to a NATO alliance, will long be in existence to honor its pledges. In the ferment of the Arab world, guns for unstable governments are an invitation to hungry populations to accept the Communist lure of bread and land and to revolt against rulers who make no effort to satisfy their needs.

Moreover, our policy is based on the fallacy that security is possible in a region from which Israel, which lies at its very heart, has been excluded. Aggression need not necessarily come through oil-rich Iraq or Iran. In the age of the plane and the atom bomb, an enemy need only extend his timetable by a few hours to destroy Israel and the oil installations both. Presumably some substitute might be found for Arabian oil. But could the West find a counterpart for the loyalty and skills of Israel's democratically oriented population?

The Security Council will hear a first-hand report on the Gaza incident from the chairman of the Mixed Armistic Commission. After so many years of delay and dalliance the U. N. again has opportunity to assume a more creative role and to move forward with determined initiative to settle the Palestine war.

Tax Politics in Britain, Too

Freed from most controls since the middle of last year, Britain's booming economy has for some months been showing inflationary symptoms. At first these were not merely ignored by the government but hailed as evidence of Conservative prosperity. However, the rising trend of imports, which have been going up twice as fast as exports, and the consequent weakening of sterling have forced Whitehall to take action. On January 27 the Bank of England's rediscount rate was raised from 3 to 3½ per cent and last week the dose was doubled while restrictions on installment purchases, abandoned last fall, were reinstated. This treatment provided a shock that manifested itself by a wave of selling on the London Stock Exchange. But it remains to be seen whether the medicine will have the desired effects on curbing home consumption, boosting exports, attracting foreign short-term funds, and preventing further liquidation of Britain's none-too-ample dollar and gold reserves.

The situation has political overtones. The Government is likely to call a general election this fall or even

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 209
Hearst In Moscow 210

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 211

Bonn's Disastrous Victory:
A Vote Against the People
by Carolus 213

How Strong Is India?
Auditing the Five-Year Plan
by T. Balogh 215

Disunity in SEATO:
Asia Prefers Asians
by O. Edmund Clubb 217

New York: Captive Giant
Albany Holds the Key
by Paul L. Ross 219

BOOKS

A Plea for Intelligence
by Abraham Edel 222

Alaska the Foundling
by Evelyn Stefansson 223

ART by S. Lane Faison, Jr. 224

THEATER by Robert Hatch 226

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 227

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 610
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 228

FORUM FOR LIBERALS opposite 209

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The Nation, March 12, 1955, Volume 180, No. 11

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address:** Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index

earlier and obviously any setback to current prosperity would imperil its chances at the polls; it is not only in America that political strategy influences fiscal policies. The *Sunday Times*, one of the government's most loyal supporters in Fleet Street, suggests that Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler "may well have calculated that he must choose between applying a financial brake now and foregoing a popular budget in a few weeks time. To distribute surplus revenue in tax reliefs on top of the incipient inflation which he already faced would have been a dangerous excess. If this interpretation is correct, then Thursday's moves may be regarded as a prelude to a stimulating budget."

The *Sunday Times* credits Mr. Butler with little sense of responsibility. For if the monetary sedative just administered is really necessary, it will be hard to justify the early application of a stimulant in the form of substantial tax reductions.

Inform—or Else

NEW YORK'S Board of Education has been conducting an open forum on the question of whether a readiness to inform on others should be made the test of good faith for teachers who have withdrawn from "subversive" organizations. From a narrow legal point of view, the board may have the power to issue an inform-or-else ultimatum, but the real problem is moral and administrative, not legal. To set the seal of official approval on the practice of informing would, as the New York Civil Liberties Committee points out, open "floodgates of disaster." For if it is the duty of the "former member" to inform on others, then informing becomes the measure of good faith for all teachers, including those who were never members of "subversive" organizations. Teachers would then live in fear not only of informing colleagues but of tale-bearing adolescents who had failed to make satisfactory grades. A chance remark, a wisecrack, a bit of "Aesopian" language, appearance at a "radical" play or a "suspect" meeting or party, would be sufficient to imperil a teacher's security and involve the board in endless administrative tangles. Pressure for adoption of the ultimatum has come from a handful of zealots representing a single religious grouping; the opposition is broad and representative. Surely now is the time for the New York board, which has spearheaded the witch hunt against teachers nationally, to exhibit a measure of self-restraint and reject this immoral and unworkable proposal.

Hearst in Moscow

THE Soviets, it is said, lack a well-developed sense of public relations; indeed they have often acted as though they were utterly indifferent to American opinion. But whoever it was in the Kremlin that approved the recent visit of William Randolph Hearst, Jr., to the Soviet Union, knows a trick or two about

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the art of publicity. Approval of the visit was not entirely out of keeping with prior Soviet practice; the Russians have often shown a preference for dealing with the opposition. All the same, it was a shrewd move to have encouraged the visit of the chief executive of a chain of newspapers that—apart from one or two lapses—has been bitterly anti-Soviet. Not only did Mr. Hearst have long interviews with key officials but stenographic reports of these interviews, with only minor omissions, were published in the Soviet press.

The initiative for the visit, it should be noted, stemmed from Mr. Hearst and his timing was perfect. He seems to have returned from Moscow with some favorable impressions. When the editor-in-chief of the Hearst newspapers can write that the men who run the Soviet Union today are "not possessed by the madness that drove Hitler to bring Germany down in ruins" nor "by the recklessness that led Mussolini to tie Italy's kite to the shooting star of Nazidom's short-lived conquest," and can then add, "they are not paranoiacs," it represents a significant political concession. Indeed, if Mr. Hearst is not careful, what with the friendly tone of the articles on his visit and a most intelligent speech before the National Press Club on "competitive coexistence," he may well find himself "invited" to appear before one of the inquisitorial committees. He seems to have had the same thought in mind when, grinning broadly, he told the press club of his interview with Mr. Khrushchev in the Kremlin. "The Communist leader told me," the publisher reported, "that if I got into trouble with Senator McCarthy back home, I could call on him to testify that during my stay in Russia I was a loyal and capable spokesman for the capitalist point of view."

Just before going to press we got in touch with Mr. Hearst and put a few questions to him about his visit. "My decision to visit the Soviet Union," he told us, "was prompted simply by a desire to get a first-hand glimpse of the country, the people, and if possible their rulers. I did not receive any prior suggestion or intimation from the Russians directly or indirectly indicating that I would be welcome. I did not experience any delays or difficulties in making arrangements for the trip. The visas for myself and my two associates came through within one week after the request was made to the Soviet Embassy in Washington." Queried about the timing of his visit, he replied: "There was no special significance in the timing beyond the fact that I felt the Formosan situation and the reported change of atmosphere in Russia since Stalin's death would make it an opportune time to go. The reaction here and abroad to the interviews and series has been most gratifying."

Impressed as we are with Mr. Hearst's initiative and verve, we cannot help feeling a twinge of pity for the Hearst editorial writers and columnists. If the boss holds to the "new line" of competitive coexistence, just what are these case-hardened veterans of the thirty-years-war against the Soviet Union to write about?

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

Washington

MEASURED by any public standard, the Senate inquiry into the stock market has begun very well. Many differences exist between the stock-market boom of 1929 and the abrupt rise of stock prices in November and December of last year. All the same, it surely was time for Congress to take another look at the stock market. The last Congressional study of the stock market was in 1933-34. Since then the American economy has been transformed. Washington has assumed powers of regulation unknown before the great crash. Members of the stock exchange have themselves placed the industry under rules and restraints designed to guard the public interest.

The mood of the present inquiry is alert interest rather than inflamed indignation. That is why there was acceptance of Senator Fulbright's opening statement as chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee when he promised that its zeal for the facts would never degenerate into abuse of individuals or a vendetta against institutions. The committee has two main purposes: to educate the public on the functions of the stock market in today's sensitive and interdependent economy; and to investigate specific abuses and the weaknesses, if any, of existing regulations.

Mr. Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, defended the exchange as an essential instrument of national prosperity and as an economic device which must be judged by its national results. That was a fair statement of the central issue. But in its desire to be impartial, the committee must also remember the necessity of conducting a searching inquiry. Otherwise politeness may become the enemy of courage.

WHEN Sinclair Weeks the Secretary of Commerce, testified before the Senate Finance Committee he suceeded in proving how small and grudging are the reforms contemplated in the President's reciprocal trade program. He spoke as a protectionist. According to him, the philosophy of reciprocal trade had been given its classic expression not

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by Cordell Hull but by President McKinley in 1901. Then he carefully proved how limited would be the reductions in the tariff even if the Senate extended the trade act for another three years. The duty on most manufactured goods ranges from 10 to 35 per cent. The President has asked for authority to cut tariff rates by 5 per cent annually over a three-year period. That simply means that on goods subject to a 20 per cent duty, there would be a reduction of "only 1 percentage point ad valorem per annum during three years." Mr. Weeks is quite correct in stating that a reduction at this rate would not harm American industry. Whether it would help world trade seemed to trouble him only in the mildest way.

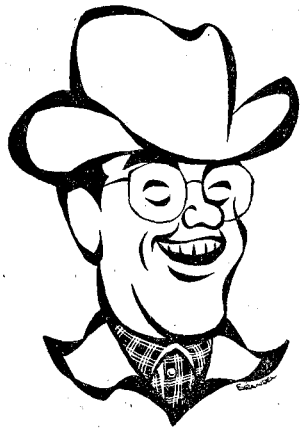
As he confessed, the level of the American tariff had a "symbolic" value in determining the sincerity with which the United States would practice reciprocal trade. If Western Europe or Japan heard his testimony in detail it would at once decide that he was hardly a persuasive symbol of America's desire to receive more imports. Mr. Humphrey, the Secretary of the Treasury, was a far more courageous advocate of the President's program. The Administration once again is speaking with a divided voice and thus encouraging the opponents of reciprocal trade to increase their criticism.

INADEQUATE attention has been given to the Department of Agriculture's report on a two-price system for rice. Under pressure from Congress this department has moved dangerously close to a policy of dumping in order to reduce the large surpluses now held by the government. Secretary Benson has tried to blunt criticism from foreign governments by insisting that it is contrary to the interests of the United States to break world prices. But the fear has persisted, especially as important members of Congress have continued their campaign to subsidize exports or to accept a system of "competitive bidding," a soft term for the rigors of large-scale dumping.

If Mr. Benson has gone too far in the past in responding to advice and criticism from Congress, he certainly has recovered his moral consistency in this report on rice. It goes far beyond marketing plans for one commodity and enshrines a philosophy which touches America's political relations with the Far East, no less than its economic interests.

Before the war the world trade in rice was about nine million tons. By 1943 this figure had fallen to 4.6 million tons. The Far East has sharply changed its rice consumption during these two periods. Before 1940 about 88 per cent of Asia's cereal imports were supplied by rice. The figure for 1953 was 31 percent. Last year the United States supplied less than 10 per cent of Asia's total rice imports. From the point of view of supply, therefore, America's share of the world trade in rice is marginal. But a decline in export prices would force the countries of Asia to market their low-market grades at a reduced price to meet American competition. The department boldly argues that other nations would find it hard to lodge an effective complaint with Washington if the United States lowered its support prices and thus managed to sell abroad at a reduced figure. It would be a different story, however, if the two-price system resulted in dumping part of the rice surplus upon Asia while the American producer sheltered behind his high supports.

The department predicted that such a policy would lead to discrimination against the United States through exchange manipulations and then to deliberate acts of retaliation against American products, manufactured and agricultural. Since this resentment against American trade practices would fester in countries peculiarly exposed to the danger of communism, it is obvious that American foreign policy would be under new challenge just when it is supremely important to win friends in this danger zone.



Secretary Benson

No one studying this admirable report can escape the conviction that the Department of Agriculture has prepared a document which shows a greater respect for the interests of producers in the Far East than often is found in the declarations of the State Department. But the problem of poverty which haunts the people of Asia will not be relieved by the report, no matter how enlightened its economic principles may be. Congress has already passed legislation permitting the United States to dispose of surplus farm products by barter with friendly countries or by accepting payment in local currencies. Having two-price system for rice, the Department of Agriculture should now accept the positive task of fighting the challenge of poverty and hunger in Asia by making greater use of this act over the wide range of agricultural surpluses. It should also consider the gift of food to relieve suffering. Such a gesture, in the American tradition, would be supported widely in Congress if Mr. Benson showed the same courage in enforcing this policy as he did in the report on rice and in his continued defense of flexible price supports.

UNLESS the State Department and the Atomic Energy Commission can produce better arguments than they have so far, there will be general support for the proposal by the Federation of American Scientists that the United States take the lead in arranging for a United Nations Commission to assess the potential dangers in atomic and hydrogen bomb tests. This proposal has the great merit of persuading the people of Asia that future tests can be made under rules which will greatly reduce the danger of contamination and fall-out. When the next Assembly meets there will be a concerted attempt by many nations to halt the competition in atomic armaments between Russia and the United States, or at least to bring it under come salutary restraint. Why should the United States not anticipate this criticism and advance a constructive program of its own?

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BONN'S DISASTROUS VICTORY

A Vote Against the People . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

The bitter fruits of Chancellor Adenauer's victory in the Bundestag last week are already apparent. His coalition government is crumbling; a half-dozen of his ministers are quitting their posts or their party; the fierce and personal attacks upon him have shaken his leadership, perhaps irretrievably; and a huge gulf has opened between his Bundestag majority and the people of the Federated Republic.

The campaign against the Chancellor and the Paris treaties which preceded the Bundestag debate took on the aspects of a popular movement such as Germany has not seen since 1930, the beginning of the Hitler era. According to time-honored German tradition, the movement was orderly, well organized, meticulously prepared—with one exception. Ten days before the offensive started there was a sudden strike of the miners and metal worker of the Ruhr which lasted for twenty-four hours. The careless utterance of a Ruhr magnate who opposed the principle of worker-employer co-management set off the fuse. No labor union had officially ordered the strike; no strike benefits were paid. It was a spontaneous rank-and-file gesture which saw 450,000 miners and a half-million metal workers lay down their tools.

This had not happened in Germany since 1921. There can be no doubt, occurring as it did in the industrial heart of West Germany, that it was intended as a warning against the ratification of the Paris agreements. In Munich, where workers gathered for mass demonstrations as the Bundestag debated, in Hamburg, in Frankfurt—it was the same picture everywhere, the same determination and the same protest. The American A. F. of L., which recently addressed a long and urgent appeal to the West German labor unions to support the Paris agreements, would have been better advised to keep quiet. For generations, the German workers have been like burnt children—burnt by militarism. They know only too well that the costs and the sacrifices attending a revival of German military power will again be borne by workers and the people with small pensions, and that in present-day Germany army and democracy cannot coexist. Felix von Eckar Eckhardt, press chief of the Adenauer government (soon to be sent to New York as observer at the U. N.), has already threatened to apply the constitutional clause concerning high treason against Adenauer's opponents. Will not the Bonn government be obligated, as a result of the Paris treaties, to promulgate a decree giving itself emergency powers to abolish the right to strike as well as other civil liberties?

Chancellor Adenauer

But in this struggle for "Western integration and the German military contribution for the defense of Western civilization" there is more at stake for the Germans than labor's freedom and civil rights. The creation of German military divisions means that the dream of reunification must be buried; it means that eighteen million Germans must for an indefinite period be abandoned to the Russians; in case of war, it means political strife between the Germans on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and the physical annihilation of the German people.

All this explains the passionate concern which the Paris agreements generated in West Germany. Even in government circles there was doubt and uneasiness; Adenauer and his ministers were compelled to step into the ring and organize counter-demonstrations which could be staged solely with the protection of the police. In Augsburg, for instance, where Adenauer's Minister of Defense, Theodor Blank, was scheduled to speak, a one-legged war veteran limped onto the rostrum and started beating up the speaker with his crutches. Signed petitions against the Paris treaties collected by the Social Democrats clearly showed that the majority of the people was opposed to the agreements in general and to rearmament in particular. The people in the towns and villages who signed the "German Manifesto" against the treaties numbered up to 25 per cent more than the votes that the Social Democrats were able to obtain in the last elections.

This "German Manifesto for Unity, Freedom, and Peace" was proclaimed last January 29 at Frankfurt am Main, in the Paulskirche, that shrine of democracy in which the first though short-lived German parliament deliberated in 1848 until it was dispersed by Bismarck's Prussian bayonets. This time, it was the authoritarian Dr. Adenauer who raged against the goings-on in the Paulskirche. There stood the dean of German universities, 83-year-old Professor Alfred Weber of Heidelberg, side by side with the great Protestant theologian, Professor Gollwitzer of Bonn, and the Catholic theologian, Professor Hessen of

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Cologne. Erich Ollenhauer, head of the Social Democratic opposition, spoke for eight million voters in his camp. The six million members of the labor unions were represented by their vice-president, Georg Reuter. A young Protestant pastor spoke for Germany's youth.

No ratification of the Paris agreements without prior negotiations with Soviet Russia; *for* the unification of Germany, and *against* war: this was the leitmotif of all the speeches and it found a vast echo in all West Germany. Meanwhile the number of Protestant clergymen intellectuals who raised their voices in the same spirit grew all the time. Despite this, everyone knew that the Bundestag would approve the agreements. In the Paulskirche Dr. Gustav Heinemann, who once was Minister for Internal Affairs in Adenauer's Cabinet and resigned as early as 1950 in protest against the Chancellor's remilitarization plans, put the matter clearly: "Can't you see that the dominating philosophy of Bonn can be summarized in three phrases: to make colossal profits; to have soldiers for defending these profits; and to have churches for blessing both?"

THESE three phrases do indeed explain the phenomenon of the Bonn regime and its contempt for the people. Hitler's former financial sponsors—the only beneficiaries of his war of conquest, who have already recouped their wealth and political power—want to become still richer and still more powerful; for this purpose they need German divisions. Unity, freedom, democracy; these are superfluous ballast, and it will be far easier to live and make money without them. Anyone who looks for other motives among the financial sponsors and wire-pullers of today's parliamentary majority is off the beam.

To have a remunerative job, to make money no matter where it comes from, and to have political power—these are the motivations of Adenauer's Bundestag majority. On such quicksand the State Department and Pentagon are today building a policy which postulates that without German divisions NATO lacks military strength and Western Europe lies open to Communist Russia. That these divisions, imposed on the German people, have no military value in this atomic age, that they cannot strengthen the West and may even produce calamitious results if matters get really serious—none of this bothers the wise statesmen in Washington, London, and Bonn.

IN THE plenary hall of the Bonn parliament the speeches droned on and Dr. Adenauer leafed through his papers. But behind the scenes smoldered a government crisis which broke out on the eve of the debates and is only now reaching its climax. The fly in the ointment is the separate status of the Saar, which has been tied to acceptance of the treaties. On the eve of the debates the Free Democrats, second largest government party, decided almost unanimously to vote against the Saar agreement. This coalition party, representing the propertied upper classes, wants soldiers and divisions but refuses to sacrifice the Saar. Nine delegates of Adenauer's own party abstained from voting on the Saar question. Even before the debate started Dr. Adenauer was determined to expel the Free Democrats from the coalition, and in the night of February 24 there was a Cabinet session to which the four Free Democratic ministerial advisers were not invited.

If American High Commissioner Dr. James B. Conant had not intervened, the government might have fallen apart before the debate began. Conant held the coalition together by pointing to the inevitable repercussions in Paris. But the fact remains that Adenauer's majority for the Saar agreement was made possible by the vote of Pan-German, revanchist, and semi-fascist delegates who have no intention whatever of permitting Germany to stick to the terms of the Saar agreement. "Today we give up the Saar, and tomorrow, once we have soldiers and the opportunity, we will get it back," is their motto. Many in Adenauer's own ranks harbor similar ideas. The vote on the Saar last week was a piece of hypocrisy for which Europe will one day suffer.

What is now happening in Bonn is the beginning of a reckless adventure which sooner or later must end in catastrophe. Even today it is a great tragedy. Instead of unifying Western Europe, the Paris treaties and Germany's remilitarization have had the blast effect of TNT. Schuman the European perished in Paris, thanks to E. D. C. Mendes-France had to go because he lost the support of the French masses when he acquiesced in the Paris agreements. The Adenauer government in Bonn, the most loyal ally of the State Department, is disintegrating from within.

Owing to the agreements and the division of Germany which they perpetuate, the religious schism in the Federated Republic and the struggle between Protestants and Catholics is deepening daily. At the same time, the differences between government and opposition are becoming unbridgeable. In West Germany, a gulf has opened between parliament and people in which democracy threatens to go under even without the assistance of militarism. West Germany and the territory occupied by the Russians are becoming more and more alienated. Soon they will scarcely recognize each other. The financial burden arising from rearmament is bound to drive the workers into radicalism. The result, given the mentality of the German propertied classes, inevitably means sharpening social conflict. No matter which way you look at it— militarily, politically, or sociologically— all this means more trumps for Moscow. Even before ratification, the Paris agreements had begun to undermine the foundations of the feeble German democracy. How will it be when the generals are once again in command? No one will be able to guarantee anything in West Germany—neither its domestic nor its foreign policy.

THIS is Germany's great tragedy. After the defeat of 1918, Hindenburg rose from military defeat to become head of the state within seven years. But after 1945 the beaten German generals of World War II were a joke to the young and an object of hate to the older generation. German militarism seemed dead for generations to come; the Germans had become pacifists. Now the "democratic liberators" are imposing on them, by force and amidst tremendous sacrifices, a new militarism, and their sons are again headed for the barracks.

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HOW STRONG IS INDIA?

Auditing the Five-Year Plan . . . *by T. Balogh*

New Delhi

There is a feeling of exhilaration here, and not only in the monstrous building of the Old British viceregal headquarters. After the postwar period of stringency and threatened famine, conditions eased in 1954 at the end of the third year of the Five-Year Plan; many goals have already been reached and some even passed. Industrial output has risen 37 per cent in three years; what is more important, agricultural output has also risen—some 15 per cent. The danger of a decline in the real per capita output and income, a danger which has dogged all underdeveloped areas since 1914, has for the moment been averted. The removal of controls from the distribution of vital grains, undertaken with some trepidation by the government on the basis of a bold statistical prognosis by outside experts, has been entirely justified by events. No inflation ensued. Indeed, prices have declined, supplies having proved ample to take care of the increased demands of the rich without trenching on the meager rations of the poor. The fall in the prices of some commodities, notably oleaginous seeds, has been so great as to cause concern since it threatens the maintenance, let alone the expansion, of production.

Nor is this all. The Indian balance of trade, which was propped up only by continuous reliance on war-time accumulations of sterling balances and on American help, has suddenly been stabilized. Only a part of the recent contractual releases of blocked sterling balances could be utilized to finance imports, and at times there was a considerable accumulation of free reserves. In consequence, the pressure in favor of a general relaxation of import restrictions could be gratified. The precepts of a more liberal trade policy, continuously reiterated by the ever-present representatives of the United States and no less emphatically by the International Monetary Fund, seem well on their way to implementation.

In addition, it is asserted that land reform has liquidated the British-favored large landowners, the Zamindars and Taluqdars who battened on the land without putting anything back into it. An upper limit is set now to landholdings, and a beginning has been made toward the consolidation of the innumerable strips into which the land was divided by the completely unsuitable law of inheritance. Thus the requisite of a successful rationalization of agriculture has been met. The large community-development schemes, it is said, provide education and certain essential services and the peasants are being mobilized for a voluntary cooperative effort to ameliorate their lot. Land has been reclaimed, roads have been paved, artificial fertilizers introduced and popularized. New methods of cultivation, especially the intensive Japanese method of increasing rice output, and the use of new implements have been demonstrated. There has been instruction in animal husbandry. Some progress has been made in protecting drinking water supplies from pollution.

These achievements have caused an outward show of confidence on the part of government spokesmen, who are of course at pains to claim the credit. But there is also genuine popular pleasure in the record. Nehru has undoubtedly been able to buttress the unity of his all-embracing party and he could have confounded his opponents, both Socialists and Communists, even without adopting their most important political plank, the enforcement through taxation and welfare services of a greater equality of standards and opportunity. The new confidence and enthusiasm make possible further progress, which is a pre-condition of true political consolidation. Eventually it must be demonstrated that by relying on a determined bureaucracy, devoted helpers and teachers among the peasantry, and ambitious, disciplined private entrepreneurs the government can make its daring experiment succeed.

The doubts and uncertainties below the surface find muted but sig-

Public Development Expenditures 1951-56
Under India's Five-Year Plan

	(Millions)	Percentage
Agriculture and community development	$ 758.2	17.5
Irrigation and power	1178.2	27.1
Transport and communications	1043.8	24.0
Industry	363.4	8.4
Social services	714.0	16.4
Rehabilitation	178.6	4.1
Miscellaneous	109.2	2.5

Agricultural Targets
Under Five-Year Plan

	Output 1950-51	Target 1955-56
Food grains (million tons)	54	61.6
Cotton (million bales)	3	4.2
Jute (million bales)	3.3	5.4
Sugar Cane (million tons)	5.6	6.3
Oil seeds (million tons)	5.1	5.5

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nificant expression in the increasing sharpness with which Indian leaders discuss the progress of Chinese reconstruction. This reflects their anxiety about developments on the northeastern frontier, their fear of being outdone by the Chinese Communists, and also their disinclination to use revolutionary methods. They are uneasy also because they know that the undoubted improvement of the Indian position is due partly to accident, and that many changes generally regarded as "improvements" endanger the basic coherence of the community.

Two-thirds if not three-quarters of the rise in agricultural output must be attributed to the exceptionally favorable weather with two consecutive excellent monsoons. A continuation of such good luck is at least improbable. Investment in irrigation and other agricultural improvements has been only half as much as the amount set in the first Five-Year Plan. While the peasants have been taught the value of artificial fertilizers, cow dung is still used for fuel instead of to enrich the soil. The land reform, and especially the law limiting individual holdings, has been, to put it mildly, inoperative in a considerable part of the country. Many landlords have been able to retain huge properties by nominally dividing them among members of their families. The religious revival fostered by the richer classes—which was certainly one of the reasons for the recent leftward turn by Nehru and some of the old-established leaders of the Congress Party—prevents a rational policy to improve livestock. India has 200,000,000 cattle, many of them quite useless, existing on an extremely scanty food supply. Yet the slaughter of cattle is banned by law in many sections and has been stopped de facto in most areas. Even monkeys are sacrosanct, though they destroy or eat an estimated one and a quarter million tons of grain annually.

A large number of the development schemes are uncoordinated, and interdepartmental jealousy prevents a full use of existing facilities; for example, many railway bridges which were used for road transport during the war are no longer available for truck traffic. The enthusiastic temporary civil servants of the Planning Commission are kept very much in their place by politically appointed officials, whose attitude has not changed for the better since liberation. The methods of recruitment to the Civil Service and the type of person preferred also remain unchanged from the previous regime. Despite the educational reforms instruction is still of the formal kind which develops dialectical power rather than knowledge of the world's problems; vocational training and technology are not favored.

Though both labor and material for their construction would have been available, storage facilities for crops are inadequate. Thus when the favorable monsoon produced a bumper crop, the surplus could not be fully stored as a reserve against lean years, and a vital weapon against later inflationary developments was thrown away.

THE effect of this failure to increase buffer stocks to the maximum and to prevent a fall in prices will be far-reaching. It will not only interfere with the expansion of agricultural output but tend to depress the volume of planned investment. In the same way the attempt to break the grip of the money-lenders through the establishment of an effective rural credit system was not carried through with sufficient vigor. The nationalization of the Imperial Bank and its conversion into the apex of a new rural credit system is now planned, but it is doubtful whether an institution with a staff so bound by ultra-conservative tradition can be transformed into an instrument of positive policy. Much more ought to have been done much sooner to start a new rural banking system.

The provincial parliaments have proved inadequate to supervise let alone control the bureaucracy. The Administration set-up remains unchanged, though an organization created to manage a police—or at best a night watchman—state could hardly be expected to be able to cope suddenly with the problems of a welfare state. In consequence the elaborate schemes put forward by the central government are not always carried out in the spirit in which they were conceived, with resulting loss of momentum. Real discontent has been caused by the ineffectualness of voluntary cooperative schemes. Owing to lack of planning, roads built by villagers are not linked up with the trunk system, irrigation canals are not put to optimum uses.

It can be said without much exaggeration that the Britisn Raj has been replaced by a dominant class which holds itself quite as much aloof from the people and enjoys the same shockingly higher standard of living. The highest old-type Indian civil servant received up to 150 times the wage of the common laborer; today the civil servants may get 100 times as much as a laborer.

THE whole problem of reform is complicated by the fact that the "center," which contains exceptionally able people, has difficulty in obtaining reliable information on developments in the provinces, and the administrative link between the central and the actual local administration is too weak to permit a smooth translation of plans. Of course the existence of a reliable and well-trained administrative staff is in itself a tremendous advantage for India—an advantage which to be appreciated must be viewed against the chaos and decline in Indonesia and the diffi-

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culties caused in Burma by the lack of cadres.

Yet while the fact that so much remained unchanged has had advantages, it also explains why the first Five-Year-Plan accomplished so little—why even its modest goals for investment have not been reached and why the slow progress in agriculture has been paralleled by the lag in industrial development. The increase in production is largely if not entirely due to the private sector in industry, in which there has been little new investment. It appears to be the result of a better utilization of existing capacities and not of the creation of new capacity. Expansion in the public-industrial sector remains far behind schedule. Unconscionable time was wasted in ordering steel plants, and the situation is not helped by the unwillingness of many government officials to take responsibility.

Even very lately the Ministry of Commerce has strongly objected to state trading of any kind, though this is essential to the rationalization of production as well as to price stabilization. Raw-material controls are not effective, and the control of capital issues remains perfunctory. The terrible shortage of low-income housing is not being tackled with sufficient energy, while luxury housing booms. There is no coordinated program to safeguard employment in the existing light industries and handicraft, while a capital-goods industry is built up—though permission has been refused to some ruthless industrialists to import labor-saving machinery which would have knocked out existing producers. The nationalization of an industry like sugar-refining, which would be vital if profiteering is to be avoided in the later stages of expansion, has not been contemplated. No doubt transport has appreciably improved. A great number of Canadian locomotives have been bought and cars are being built or imported. But railway construction has not made much progress, and even road construction, in which under-employed peasants and unemployed city workers could have been used, has not been pushed with enough determination.

One-fifth of all employables are without work in urban areas, half of them white-collar workers. Communism, therefore, makes gains, though it still has to conquer the working class in the North.

The very improvement of the balance of payments, which evokes approval of banking experts, is in fact a scandal. The surplus of foreign trade means that the potential productive power of the country is not being developed to the utmost. Yet time presses, and such waste cannot be tolerated. As much as half of total profits still go to foreign owners, and foreign enterprise is still expanding at a much greater rate than the Indian. Greater investments and better income distribution would be within the grasp of the country if it had a little more foresight, confidence, and energy.

DISUNITY IN SEATO

Asia Prefers Asians . . . *by O. Edmund Clubb*

THE SEATO pact, signed by eight states on September 8, 1954, was aimed at thwarting aggression in Southeast Asia. Communism was riding the wave of revolt against the old order in Asia, and the United States, in signing the pact, appended its "understanding" that the document applied to *Communist* aggression. In addition to the complex and dangerous overall situation, SEATO confronted a challenge to its own integrity. The Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan were its only Asian members; the five others were the United States, France, Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain. It was manifest that one of SEATO's primary aims at its meeting in Bangkok last month had to be the winning of Asian sentiment if it would avoid being stigmatised, probably fatally, as a "white man's club" serving Western strategy. It was not only the strength of Western purpose that needed demonstration, but some basic identity of interest between Occident and Orient.

Events attendant upon SEATO's conception marked it from birth. When the ANZUS pact betwen Australia, New Zealand, and the United States was signed in September, 1952, various other candidates for membership were mentioned—Great Britain, France, Canada, Japan, the Philippines, and Formosa. But such a combination would obviously have encountered great difficulties, particularly as regards Japan and Formosa. And so, after a lapse of time, matters took a new tack. In December, 1953, C. L. Sulzberger of the New York *Times*, reporting from London, quoted "the highest possible diplomatic authority" to the effect that the United States opposed taking Britain into the ANZUS pact and suggested that some East Asian leader—perhaps President Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines—should unite the anti-Communist lands stretching from Japan, South Korea, and Formosa to Indo-China, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

The startling turn of events in Indo-China further stimulated the urge for a united front in Asia. In March and April of 1954, as Communist military pressure built up to the bloody climax at Dienbienphu, Washington exercised the strongest possible leverage on America's allies to get a joint demarche, before the impending Geneva conference, against communism in Southeast Asia. The British held

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out, contending that it was essential first to enlist the support of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand stood with the British, and London won.

So the SEATO pact was signed only after the Indo-China truce. In the pattern of the United States-Formosa treaty, it deals with "aggression by means of armed attack" and "subversive activities directed from without against . . . territorial integrity and political stability." The possible character of those undefined "subversive activities" is left wide open for interpretation. Still, the actions projected in the treaty are limited by several provisos. While U. N. procedures are passed by with only a nod, Article 1 sets forth the signatories' undertaking "to refrain . . . from the threat of use of force in any manner inconsistent with the *purposes* of the United Nations" (emphasis supplied). Article 4 stipulates that, when one of the parties reports a threat to peace in the treaty area, "the parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which would be taken for the common defense." The document also provides that each member state will act to meet the common danger "in accordance with its constitutional processes," but unilateral free-wheeling is debarred by the rule of unanimity.

THE apparent concord of last September hid basic discords. Something of the air of a shotgun wedding pervaded the signing ceremony: the "allies" present were of more than one mind. Australia and the Philippines in particular considered that the military function of the pact would best be served if a joint ground force were created for deployment in time of need. Since the French had employed a half million men for eight years to repress revolt in Indo-China and lost, and the British in continuous warfare in Malaya since 1948 have been able to whittle down the rebel strength from 6-8,000 men to somewhere near 4,000 only by using some 300,000 troops, militia, and police, the thought process is understandable. There is no general acceptance in Asia of the proposition that air and naval power are capable of stemming revolutionary movements.

Asian thinking is far more in-

Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch
A Dark Street

clined to stress the significance of economic elements in political phenomena. The October report of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee pointed up the grave need of South and Southeast Asia for increased economic aid. Prime Ministers Shigeru Yoshida of Japan and Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon, in year-end visits to Washington, alike proposed the launching of massive aid programs for that area. At Singapore, en route to the conference of the Colombo Powers at Jakarta, Sir John summed up his position: America could not afford *not* to help the Eastern nations, he said, adding that "you cannot talk to a hungry man about democracy."

The SEATO pact, recognizing the economic factor, incorporates an agreement to "cooperate . . . in the further development of economic measures . . . designed to promote progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of Governments toward these ends." In November, when the SEATO meeting was still in prospect, it was reported from Washington that F. O. A. was preparing a program forecast for 1955-56: "As outlined thus far, the new programs call for greatly increased expenditures in Asia, from Pakistan to Japan, with emphasis on Indo-China." And F. O. A. Director Harold E. Stassen announced that the United States had informally proposed to the O. E. E. C. that the nations of Western Europe join in a "broad development program" for the free countries of Asia. There was also talk of a "Marshall Plan for Asia." But on February 19, Treasury Secretary Humphrey had the final say: expenditures on economic aid for Asia in fiscal year 1956, he said, would be about $585 million as compared with $500 million for the current year.

Certain Asian attitudes toward both the political and economic aspects of SEATO had already taken form. In a communique of May 2, 1954, issued by the South Asian Prime Ministers Conference at Kandy, the congress "affirmed their faith in democracy and democratic institutions and . . . declared their unshakable determination to resist interference in the affairs of their countries by external Communist, anti-Communist, or other agencies." At British initiative, the Colombo Powers were invited to participate in the creation of SEATO. Only Pakistan accepted. India, Burma, Indonesia, and Ceylon were aloof.

The Colombo Powers met in conference again at the end of the year. In their joint communique of December 29, they outlined a proposal to convoke in April, 1955, an Afro-Asian conference of which the first two purposes would be: "A. To promote goodwill and cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa . . . B. To consider social, economic, and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented." The third agenda item was of striking significance—the consideration of "problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, for example, problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism." Communist China and Japan are among the twenty-five states invited. The United States (and the U. S. S. R.), Formosa and South and North Korea are not.

THE principles governing that conference, to meet in Bandung, Indonesia, on April 16, are those of Asian coexistence and Asian self-determination. The first is in line with the June, 1954, declaration of Premiers Jawaharal Nehru and Chou En-lai affirming their faith in "peaceful coexistence," and with the Nehru-Tito statement of December 23 repudiating "the erroneous conception which has become prevalent in some

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quarters of a 'third bloc' or 'third force' of non-aligned countries." The second is based firmly on Asian nationalism.

Secretary Dulles had disclosed last August, even before the establishment of SEATO, that the United States contemplated forging links between itself, Japan, South Korea, and Formosa, to strengthen further the Far Eastern defense system. That plan had already been advanced a step by negotiation of the mutual-defense pact with Formosa when, at Bangkok, Mr. Dulles formally introduced into the proceedings the significant proposition that there is a relationship between three "fronts" —Korea-Japan, Formosa, and Southeast Asia; and that the Formosan and South Korean forces were thus "a common part of the forces deterring Communist aggression in Southeast Asia." The "Formosa problem" had been brought to Bangkok.

The northern boundary of SEATO excludes the Pacific area north of Lat. 21°30'. Formosa and other points north of the Philippines, that is, lie outside the territory covered by SEATO. Unanimous agreement is required for the admission of new members, or any change in the treaty area. It seems unlikely that either Pakistan or Thailand would accept the thesis of interrelationship of the three military sectors in question. In June, 1954, Premier Yoshida told the Lower House that it would be inadvisable" for Japan to participate in the projected SEATO pact; in view of the shattering events of the ensuing months, Japan would probably now object to being forced into a partnership in arms with Formosa and South Korea. And the Commonwealth, for its part, has obviously reached the limits permitted by either British or Asian opinion as regards support for the American policy on Formosa. That support does not include fighting a war on behalf of the Chinese Nationalists for the offshore islands of China.

AT THE end, the SEATO group showed signs of remembering that its main task was to convince Asians of the worth of the SEATO program, and of Western bona fides. The conference voted on February 25 to send cordial greetings to "the other free countries" which will attend the Bandung conference. The formal communique of the same date expressed the hope that other free nations *of the area* "will associate themselves in the near future with the work to be undertaken under the treaty." But the "work" outlined by Mr. Dulles is more than Asian nations bargained for. And if the SEATO conference proved capable of organizing a headquarters, it was unable to provide it with a joint ground force, for the United States would not agree; nor could it offer concrete promise of large-scale economic aid, for American support in that sector was not available. SEATO is galled by Anglo-American friction, but it will be crippled if it fails to obtain unified support among South Asian nations. If SEATO is to be an instrument of American policy, that support will not be forthcoming.

SEATO can extract itself from its present awkward predicament only if control passes from Occidental to Asian hands. Asians will not be bludgeoned or wheedled into participating in any particular Occidental program in Asia. Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert Murphy said on January 8: "We do not seek to impose any system of collective security on any country. This is in keeping with . . . the fierce determination, especially among the new-born Asian nations, to preserve their hard-won independence against infringement. This determination coupled with a lingering fear of the old colonialism is . . . perhaps the deepest motivating force in the new Asia and one that we must never forget." Asians from Pakistan to Japan would react sympathetically to that sentiment. It is because they have failed to discover it in SEATO that they now look toward Bandung, and disunity afflicts the democratic front in Southeast Asia.

NEW YORK: CAPTIVE GIANT

Albany Holds the Key . . *by Paul L. Ross*

A YEAR ago Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York, following the trail of his predecessors, LaGuardia, O'Dwyer, and Impelletteri, took the winter trek to Albany. Tom Dewey sat in the Governor's chair, his shadow bulking large in the adjacent legislative corridors of the state capitol. In his hands he held the whip which kept a Republican majority in line in both the Senate and the Assembly. Like those who had come before him, the Mayor had a package to sell in order to obtain the help necessary to solve some of the problems which beset the people of New York City. There was an exchange of facts, followed by bargaining, fencing, back-biting, political statements for the record on both sides. Not much in the way of concrete help was obtained. Dewey held the reins tight.

This is another year. Tom Dewey has retired from Albany and set up shop in Nassau Street "to repair the family fortunes," depleted by his twelve unremunerative years as Governor. For the next four years a Democrat, Averell Harriman, will be Governor. He will give a more sympathetic reception to New York City's Mayor, but what will he be

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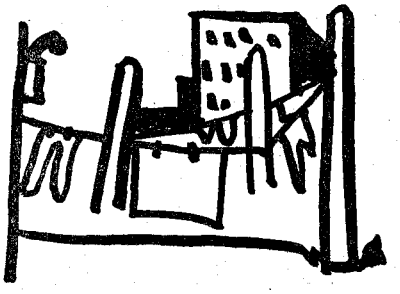
able to do, with the best of intentions, in the face of a perennially Republican legislature?

The new Governor undoubtedly understands his problem. He must deal with a state legislature which has never shown any solicitude for the city of New York except to keep it a captive of the state Republican machine, which historically has granted—grudgingly, it must be noted—such largess as it found politically necessary or expedient. A Republican state constitution keeps New York City's representation in the legislature at substantially less than a majority, although the city has more than 50 per cent of the population of the state, pays the greater part of the taxes, has the largest concentration of capital assets in financial and commercial enterprises, is the cultural center of America, and the home of the United Nations, to boot.

THE STATE constitution empowers the city of New York to adopt laws relating to its property, affairs, and government. Among the city's other prerogatives are the acquisition, care, and use of its streets and property; the ownership and operation of its transit facilities; the collection and administration of such local taxes as are authorized by the legislature. Its debt-incurring power is limited, as is its power to raise taxes on real estate. Public education is declared to be not a city function but a responsibility of the state, although the city must foot most of the bills. A high-sounding catch-all clause permits the city to pass laws concerning "the government and regulation of the conduct of its inhabitants and the protection of their property, safety, and health." Well, what's there to worry about? Just this—one reads in the constitution all about the city's powers, but it does not need the expertness of a constitutional lawyer to discover that in fact the city is strait-jacketed. For the city can pass no laws "inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the state." That means that the city gets only what the state legislature wants to give it.



The shackles the Republican constitution has forged have been fastened on the city by the Republican legislature and riveted on by the courts through their interpretation of legislative powers. A lay reader of the court decisions would shake his head in wonderment. Here's an example: the city is supposed to have authority to protect the "safety and health" of its inhabitants. That is what the constitution says. But here is what the state's highest court has said: "The life, health, and safety of the inhabitants of the city of New York are not . . . a city concern which can be localized and delimited by the city boundaries, but are the concern of the whole state." To justify the exercise of legislative control over the health and destinies of the people of the city, the court continued:

> New York City, with its millions, is made up very largely of those who pass through it, or temporarily reside in it. It is a shifting population, scattering over all portions of the state and to the four corners of the earth. A pestilence, a disease, anything that affects the health and welfare of the city of New York touches almost directly the welfare of the state as a whole. . . . The health of a community, we have discovered, thanks to science has more to do with the general prosperity and welfare of a state than its wealth or its learning or its climate.

This was written in 1929, when the city had a permanent resident population of seven million, most of whom lived in dilapidated tenement houses or slums. In fact, the decision was written to sustain the legislature's enactment of the multiple-dwelling law, which had been passed to supersede the ineffective tenement-house law passed in 1901. The city of New York resisted this enactment because it violated the home-rule provisions of the state constitution by interfering with the city's right to protect its own slum-dwellers. To this objection the court gave answer:

> The police power of the state has never been questioned when it dealt directly with hygienic conditions of a community. Unless the intent is clear or reasonably certain, it should not now be limited or whittled away by the reform known as home rule for cities. Let us recognize in our decision the useful division which custom and practice have made between those things which are considered state affairs and those which are purely the affairs of cities.

With power over the housing conditions of the people of New York City securely in the grip of the Republican legislature, the recent series of fire-trap deaths in Harlem and other slum areas presents Governor Harriman with a critical challenge. Three fatal fires in one week are an ominous sign of other possible impending calamities, such as the collapse of dilapidated buildings with even greater loss of life. It is clear that the present tenement-house laws, described by the courts as "the best known measures for the safety and health of the people of New York," are grossly inadequate to cope with the situation.

One of the fatal fires referred to occurred in an illegally converted rooming-house without sprinklers or a fire escape. The landlady, a practical nurse by occupation, had been brought to court seven times; she has since been held under manslaughter charges. She was fined $10 for illegal conversion in 1943 and received a suspended sentence the following year. The building was occupied in 1954, although in 1945 the landlady had been ordered to vacate all tenants. Having failed to comply, she was fined $20 in 1947, $25 in 1949, $50 in 1951, and $100 early in 1954, and at the time of the fire another violation was outstanding.

ON Christmas Day a kerosene stove set a Christmas tree ablaze in an East Harlem slum flat for which the stove was the only source of heat. The fire damaged apartments on the three floors above and took two lives. Since they were Negroes and Puerto Ricans, safer homes were not available to them. Millions of New Yorkers, white and non-white, live in daily fear of similar catastrophes.

Less than a fifth of New York City families own their own homes. Almost two million families live in rented apartments, and two-thirds of them pay rents ranging from $30 to $59 a month. Almost 300,000

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families still live in substandard flats which are either dilapidated or do not have an inside toilet, bath, or hot running water. Another 50,000 families live in substandard one- and two-family houses. Altogether almost 500,000 families live in tenements which were built before 1900, thousands of them dating back to the Civil War. Even tenements built after 1900, according to the Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance, contain a large proportion of dilapidated, unsafe, and unsanitary apartments.

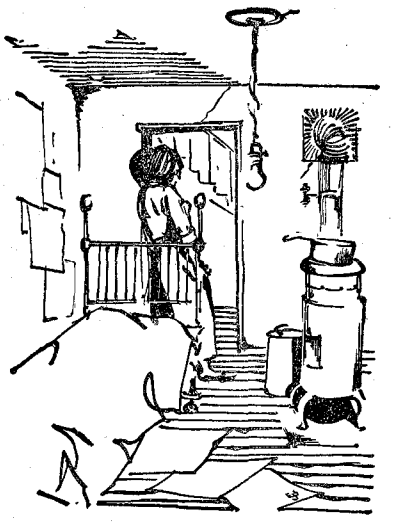
These thousands of slums are tolerated of course for one reason: they are profitable. In a study entitled "The Housing Market in New York City," published in 1944, the Institute of Public Administration explained the situation in these words:

> Many persons exhibit impatience over the slow lingering "death" of obsolete buildings. They overlook the fact that an obsolete building may still possess a considerable life of economic usefulness to marginal or submarginal users. The fact is that no building can be replaced by the owner so long as it yields a return in excess of its ground rent. A scheme for demolition and replacement becomes remunerative only when the income ascribable to the site exceeds the annual rent from present building and plot. Neither the prospective life nor the original cost of the existing building enters into the problem of a profitable replacement. The question is simply —does the old building, as a structure, return a net surplus above ground rent? If it does, it is unwise to demolish it.

The same study offered a simple solution which apparently never came to the ears of the members of the state legislature:

> Were the minimum legal standards of marginal occupancy raised ever so slightly, the demolition of the poorest structures would be greatly accelerated. A gradual progressive tightening up on sanitary, plumbing, and open-space requirements over a period of years, with a deadline set for a termination of occupancy unless these standards are complied with, would have a pronounced effect upon prospective demolitions. Such a program would prove an appreciable aid in the clearance of the blighted areas for subsequent planning and housing.

Such a solution, however, is at present beyond the city's power. When the New York City Commissioner of Housing and Buildings under Mayor LaGuardia tried to impose more rigid standards on a Bowery flop-house, the courts said that he had no power to decide whether additional requirements concerning the construction and maintenance of buildings were necessary for the public health and safety, not even where higher standards might reasonably be exacted, "even where the legislature has been remiss in failing to exact them." For good or ill, the court said, it is the legislature which sets the policy.



AND when LaGuardia did succeed in getting the legislature to pass a law which gave the city the power to compel the owner and mortgagee to repair a dilapidated slum to make it livable—in default of such action the city could make the repairs and charge the cost against the building, making it a lien payable before the first mortgage—the court said the law was unconstitutional. On that occasion three New York City savings banks, which admitted that among them they held first mortgages on 4,500 tenement houses, argued in effect: If the tenement house is dangerous or unsuitable, the city in the interest of the public health or welfare may close it up, or restrict its use, or even, where dangerous, demolish it. But the city cannot take away the mortgagee's rights and privileges, even though the improvements may enhance the value of his security. If the owners—usually marginal speculators—cannot afford to make the repairs to their buildings, agreed the court, then the city can close them up or, on the owners' default, "permit" the banks to take them over, but it cannot repair them at the bank's expense. (Banks and insurance companies then held about five billion dollars in first mortgages on New York City real estate. Their stake today is greater than it was fifteen years ago.)

In a report submitted to Mayor Wagner early in 1954 the New York City Planning Commission estimated that construction of 438,000 dwelling units between 1950 and 1960 would be necessary to meet housing needs; 214,000 new apartments would be required by 1960 just to meet the population increase among Negro and Puerto Rican families. How can these needed homes become a reality? According to the Planning Commission report, the outlook for public housing under existing programs is bleak. The federal housing program gives New York City a quota of 1,800 apartments a year. State funds will soon be exhausted, and additional funds require an amendment of the state constitution by two successive legislatures and a vote of the people at a general election to follow. A minority of the Planning Commission recommended building 44,000 apartments a year during the 1950-60 decade, considering this figure, "developed on the basis of conservative assumptions, a rock-bottom figure." They pointed out that during the mayoralty campaign of 1953 two of the candidates —Harold Riegelman, the Republican, and Rudolph Halley, of the Liberal Party—publicly announced annual new-housing goals of 45,000 to 50,000 apartments, and that Mayor Wagner had been committed to this figure since 1948.

Robert Moses called it a "preposterous" proposal. In condemning it out of hand, although not denying the need, he declared:

> No conservative citizen, taxpayer, non-subsidized rent-payer, or home-owner would listen to such a program. If it were seriously proposed as a working schedule it would mark us as crackpots and irresponsible demagogues in Albany and Washington.

Governor Harriman is undoubtedly aware of the influence which Robert Moses can exercise in the councils of the Republican legislature. He had better gird his loins for a hard, rough-and-tumble struggle this winter in Albany.

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BOOKS

A Plea for Intelligence

HUMAN SOCIETY IN ETHICS AND POLITICS. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

By Abraham Edel

IN this book Bertrand Russell stands out more than ever as a spokesman for the permanent interests of mankind over and above the present conflicts and intolerance. He calls for the spread of the scientific temper and conducts a spirited defense of it against current claims that faith is the solution of our ills. He devotes more than half of the book to ethics, a bit thereafter to political themes, and concludes with the cosmic vista, affirming that in man's hands now lies the decision whether his present spectacular drama upon the face of the earth is to be a prologue or an epilogue. The treatment of ethical theory is fuller than in any of his writings in recent decades, profound in getting down to fundamental problems and frank in exhibiting its own conflicting tendencies. The treatment of politics is more cursory, focusing primarily on the human motives underlying political action. In spirit the book combines a wide humanism with a sober liveliness—sober in its tone of qualified optimism and in its deliberative restraint aiming at a widest common-sense agreement, lively in Russell's usual charm of style, lucid presentation, and choice of the precise historical example to unmask pretentious dogmatism.

Russell rejects the belief in a self-sufficient moral code dictating what is right and wrong on grounds of religion or conscience. There are too many conflicts in such codes; they embody too obviously a given state of knowledge or ignorance; and besides, he notes, even Aquinas defends Christian moral rules by utilitarian considerations. A larger measure of general agreement is therefore likely to be secured by seeing morality as a means to achieving the satisfaction of human desires. At the base of Russell's ethics thus lies the conception of "good" as what men find in their experience that they value for its own sake. Right and wrong are determined by reference to the general good. No partial good, for individual self, class, nation, elite, can be substituted for the general good; men's desires are not actually bound within such limited scope, and constructing morality in these partial terms accentuates conflict.

SO FAR, the structure of his argument is clear. But in dealing with decision in the conflict of ultimate ends—whether of individuals or groups—Russell's argument wavers. As in some of his previous writings, his view is sometimes close to a type of emotive theory, which sees ethical judgments as wishes or imperatives, not as indicative statements of fact that can be scientifically decided. But in many contexts he moves away from this view. He gives some weight to men's feelings that their ethical judgments are more than just subjective taste preferences. He shifts attention from the conflicting individuals to the wider community for whom the issue—say whether A should take what he wants from B—may often be intelligently decided. He spotlights the corrupting effect of oppression on the oppressor. But lest ethics be considered unqualifiedly within the area of scientific investigation, he resorts to an occasional illustration of possibly irreconcilable judgments—for example, that vindictive punishment is morally mandatory as against the view that it is immoral.

In the preface Russell says that the book refutes critics who accuse him of overestimating the part of reason in human affairs, and he subscribes to Hume's famous sentence, "Reason is, and ought only to be, the slave of the passions." But philosophical critics have often found him underestimating the role of human rationality by putting ends beyond the domain of intelligent decision. And from this point of view the present book is increasing, not diminishing, the role that Russell has been willing to allow to intelligence. As in much modern ethical writing, there is a real confusion between the question of how the good may be determined when two men disagree sharply about it, and the practical problem of how the "loser" may be persuaded to accept the verdict. The latter may be difficult and sometimes even impossible, but this need not be regarded as conclusive with respect to the role of intelligence in the former. This is an issue to be faced squarely.

In dealing with political behavior Russell resorts largely to explanation in everyday psychological terms; he makes no attempt to probe systematically into the social and cultural conditions under which human aims take shape. Rival ideologies are not seen as important except as determining the groups or herds which verge on conflict: "If the Russians still adhered to the Greek Orthodox religion, if they had instituted parliamentary government, and if they had a completely free press which daily vituperated us, then—provided they still had armed forces as powerful as they have now—we should still hate them if they gave us ground for thinking them hostile." Russell's treatment of politics still gives love of power a more central place than material needs and conditions. His analysis of psychological elements is carried out with considerable refinement. He distinguishes acquisitiveness, rivalry, and vanity from love of power; noting, for example, in a succinct comparison of glory and power, that "the people who enjoy the greatest glory in the United States are film stars, but they can be put in their place by the Committee for Un-American Activities, which enjoys no glory whatever." Other desires, such as love of excitement, are also given their due. Russell would have every big town contain artificial waterfalls for people to descend in fragile canoes, and bathing pools full of mechanical sharks; any person found advocating a pre-

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ventive war is to be condemned to two hours a day with these monsters!

On the whole Russell's treatment of politics in this book resolves itself into a plea for more intelligence, which he regards as the main thing now needed to make the world happy. Whatever the shortcomings of his treatment from a scientific point of view, it is given impact by the demand that we face up to the needs of men and the present global ability to achieve a better life, and use a little more sense in coming to a resolution that will mean life instead of death.

Alaska the Foundling

THE STATE OF ALASKA. By Ernest Gruening. Random House. $7.50.

By Evelyn Stefansson

FOR years we have needed a political history of Alaska. Despite hundreds of books on innumerable aspects of the territory, no work has appeared combining political and historical scrutiny. The reason may have been that the source material was to be found chiefly in a formidable mountain of government documents; only an intrepid scholar would want to dig into this mine of information, for the pay dirt would be likely to be small in comparison with the tailings.

We are blessed in that Ernest Gruening, dynamic governor of Alaska during some of the most interesting years of its life, 1939 to 1953, has bent his talents to the task. Newspaperman, editor, and publisher before he entered the political arena, he has written a beautifully organized book which covers the political and economic development of Alaska down through 1954.

Starting with Alaska's earliest days, the author brings us quickly to 1867, the year we bought Russian America. It is a tribute to his skill that he makes enthralling a chronicle which is essentially depressing, especially when it describes the relationship of Congress with Alaska. Here the leitmotif might be characterized as "neglect plus spoils-seeking" or, if you are fond of subtitles, "too little or too much, and always too late." In Gruening's words, "this is a history of a region which in the first half of its existence under the United States had less government and in the second half more government—but always less self-government—than any other American area since the founding of the Republic." That Alaska grew and developed despite the obstacles placed in its path was chiefly due to the hardy, enterprising character of the Alaskans.

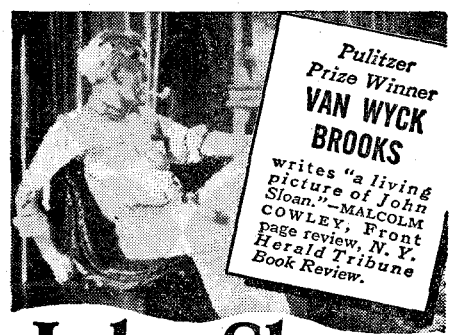
With fine objectivity Gruening details the neglect suffered by Alaska during the early years and the trials of its population when settlers could not acquire title to land, property could not be deeded or transferred, no will was valid, no marriages could be solemnized, crime could not be punished, and no injured party could get redress. Appeals to the government went unanswered. Not surprisingly, both population and trade decreased. Bill after bill was introduced into Congress providing for some form of government, but all remained buried in committee.

IN 1884 Congress finally recognized the existence of Alaska, and deigned to confer on it a code of laws, but with deplorable lack of understanding of the country and its problems it chose as model the completely irrelevant Oregon code. Designed for an agricultural, fruit-growing state, this code was utterly unsuitable to a mining, fishing, fur-trading region. It raised no taxes within the district for purposes of government. It provided no legislature, no representation in Congress, no general land laws. The administration installed was told to "inspect, enforce the laws, and report, yet denied the means either to inspect or enforce." The code frequently referred to county and town functions, but Alaska had neither. This vast land was given no land laws. Appointments to office became political plums, and few Alaskans ever obtained them. They were used stateside to pay off old political debts. Occasionally an appointee turned out to be a good man. Alfred P. Swineford, for instance, a Michigan newspaper editor who became governor, was a man "of energy, courage, and vision. His four annual reports may be considered classics in the literature of protest." Later the government completely reversed the situation, substituting meddling for neglect, and the territory suffered from constant interference by misinformed non-Alaskans.

The seven section headings of the book indicate its method and purpose: Discovery (1741-1867), The Era of Total Neglect (1867-84), The Era of Flagrant Neglect (1884-98). The Era of Mild but Unenlightened Interest (1898-1912), The Era of Indifference and Unconcern (1912-33), The Era of Growing Awareness (1933-54), and Alaska's Pending Problems. The last contains informative discussions of land, law, and native problems. The controversial fisheries question and the transportation difficulties are also covered.

The book ends with a discussion

EVELYN STEFANSSON is the author of "Here Is Alaska."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of statehood. Gruening feels, and most readers by the time they have finished the book will be inclined to agree, that only through statehood can Alaska realize its enormously rich potential. Alaskans suffer from "taxation without representation"—they have a delegate in the United States House of Representatives, but he cannot vote. There is an "absentee landlord" situation in mining, fishing, and other sources of wealth. Alaskans must travel six thousand miles to seek legislative action on their problems. Until its form of government places the primary responsibility on its citizens, Alaska will be retarded.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

IT IS easy for New Yorkers to forget that until the turn of this century Philadelphia and Boston were far in the lead as centers of painting. A selection of the best works of artists who were trained in these two cities or who instructed others there up to around 1910 would include most of what we can take the greatest pride in.

One of these cities, Philadelphia, is exhibiting such a selection. To celebrate its 150th anniversary, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, America's oldest fine-arts organization, has been showing the work of twenty-two painters and three sculptors who were at one time or another enrolled as its students or on its staff. The exhibition is currently being held in the spacious galleries of the Academy, Broad and Cherry Streets, and anyone with an interest in the American tradition, or in quality in American art, or in the growth of the American vocabulary would be unwise to forgo the opportunity it offers.

After closing, a large portion of this show will be sent to certain European cities which have had little chance to learn at first hand what America has achieved. Florence and Innsbruck are among them—centers accustomed to giving to, not receiving from, America the blessings of visual refinement.

While one may argue about the contemporary art that has been sent abroad to represent the United States—except for what the Museum of Modern Art has managed to accomplish with private funds—there can be little argument about the impact of the works on view in Philadelphia. The director of the Academy, Joseph T. Fraser, Jr., should be congratulated on the selection of examples—only a few of which come from the Academy's own collection—on their arrangement, and on the catalogue, to which many of the best-informed students of American painting contributed. The catalogue is much more than a souvenir of a visit. It is a compendium of authoritative knowledge of a major slice of creative activity in America.

If I have placed a terminating date of around 1910 to the period that merits these complimentary remarks, it is not because the exhibition stops here or because the quality always declines in works of later vintage. Philadelphia, however, lost its leadership around that time, and work of stature became sporadic rather than cumulative. It would be invidious to name the less distinguished recent artists. Others have maintained the high quality for which the Academy has stood during its long and honorable history. Charles Demuth, a Pennsylvanian from Lancaster, studied there from 1905 to 1910 when he was in his middle twenties, but his art is better understood in terms of his European contacts and of the Armory Show of 1913. John Marin, no Philadelphian, studied at the Academy from 1899 to 1901, but as an artist he too must be approached through European idioms of expression, Yankee to the core as his painting undoubtedly is. Among the more recent painters, Arthur B. Carles, who died in 1952, is the most impressive, better in his later abstract work than in his earlier nude and flower pieces. Set in his generation—he was born in 1882, close to Demuth and Picasso and Braque and Franz Marc—he can hardly be said to survive the competition, whether European or American.

We need make no apology, however, for Thomas Eakins, an exact contemporary of the Impressionists who neither imitated them nor played second fiddle to them in quality. If it be argued that Eakins was closer to earlier French masters like Courbet, one may reply that Eakins survived Courbet's competition too, or, more accurately, that there was in truth no competition here. For Eakins was essentially a new Rembrandt, while Courbet was at once a prophecy of Cezanne (in his rocky landscapes) and a reincarnation of the great portal sculpture of Gothic France (in his figure pieces). Virtually all the great Eakinses and many lesser ones are assembled in the central galleries of the Academy, and his dominance is properly registered by this emphasis. It is a privilege to see his two big medical compositions, brought together from the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. I do not hesitate to compare them with Rembrandt's Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp, though in fairness it should be added that this early work is hardly a measure of Rembrandt's full genius.

LATE in his career Rembrandt painted another medical picture, for Dr. Deyman, of which only a central fragment survives. Here we may surmise that he probed the full depth of human personality, much as Eakins did in the Gross Clinic (1875) and almost did again in the Agnew Clinic (1889). While I insist on the parallel to Rembrandt, I must admit it can be overdone. One of the most unexpected passages in the Gross Clinic is the painting of blood in a manner that foreshadows expressionist violence of sheer intensity of color. The bust portraits catch the sitter in deep concentration but never, as in Rembrandt, with romantic allusions to patriarchs of the Old Testament. Many of Eakins's personages are engaged in making music (The Cello Player, The Concert Singer, The Pathetic Song); more might be imagined as listening to music being made by others. Even the Oarsmen rest from their labors as if to hear

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the swish of their craft through the waters of the Schuylkill.

As this is a Philadelphia show, Winslow Homer is missing, and so is Albert Pinkham Ryder. I cannot, however, let pass this opportunity to remark that references to America's famous trilogy of nineteenth-century masters are getting shopworn. Ryder seems to me a small talent in the company of the other two, whether we consider his range, or his over-all growth, or his fundamental ability to communicate experience through the language of painting.

From the point of view of growth Cecelia Beaux makes an interesting contrast to Mary Cassatt. The former started off solidly and well in Le Derniers Jours d'Enfance, which we might call early Degas seen through the temperament of Henry James, but gradually she turned to superficial society portraiture and ended as insipid as the poorest Sargents. Mary Cassatt (1844-92) was never finer than at the end of her career, at least if The Bath (Art Institute of Chicago) be taken as an example, and in her work of the early 1880's (Reading le Figaro) she managed to r i v a l Degas without being, as he used to put it, *du batiment.*

ANOTHER unusual opportunity afforded by this exhibition is the chance to see the work of William Harnett and John Frederick Peto in nearby rooms. In a recent book by Alfred Frankenstein, "After the Hunt," the careers of these superficially similar painters of still life are brilliantly disentangled. (Harnett signatures were forged on Peto's work to make them bring Harnett prices.) Harnett struck more for the luxury trade—elegant objects, highly polished surfaces, unbelievable virtuosity in fooling the eye. It is possible, however, to consider the humbler Peto a more moving painter, and I have the impression that criticism is gradually coming around to this judgment.

The exhibition leads off, appropriately enough, with Charles Willson Peale, founder-in-effect of the Academy. As early as 1786 he had established his own museum in Philadelphia, and the famous painting, commemorated in a c u r r e n t postage stamp, in which he lifts a curtain on its interior is of course included. The Staircase Group, representing two of his sons, is a more substantial work. It rivals Copley and even Eakins in forthrightness. William Rush, America's first sculptor, is not very different from him, despite certain awkwardnesses in allegorical themes.

Perhaps the greatest surprise in the show is the inclusion of George Caleb Bingham, the painter of life on the Mississippi River. Largely self-taught, he received his only formal training at the Academy in 1837. The connection is admittedly tenuous, but if Bingham was able to elevate scenes of rafting and boating out of a merely documentary class, if Poussin has cast a distant spell over, shall we say, Mark Twain, no doubt the Academy had something to do with it.

Finally, mention should be made of the Ash Can School, a name h a t e d by its adherents—Robert Henri, who was chiefly responsible for persuading his slightly younger friends to strike for artistic levels higher than those offered by magazine illustration, and Sloan, Luks, and Glackens. All these painters are seen in major examples and in full range. Everett Shinn was a member of their company, but in retrospect he seems thoroughly outclassed.

CHURCHLY OVER-EMPHASIS UPON "RIGHTEOUSNESS"

These advertisements have insisted upon the honesty and sincerity of all church people. But if we go back into ancient church history, a slightly different picture comes into view. The ancient church inherited from the Holy Land a Belief in One God who was the Divine, Democratic Champion of social justice for the "Poor and Needy." But when the God of Social Justice left the Holy Hills, and came down into World History, hoping for a good reception by everybody, he was only welcomed by poor people; and, worse still, he was presently met by a stern, aristocratic God of Righteousness, who usurped the chief place in church for more than fifteen hundred years.

The fact is that today's church people have been victimized by their ancient ecclesiastical predecessors, who deliberately obscured the preaching of the Hebrew prophets and ignored the repeated endorsement of the prophets by Jesus. The so called "early church fathers" kept the masses of laity ignorant of the prophets' real meaning as preachers of social justice. They actually made the people believe that the prophets' work was to foretell the advent of a theological Christ, when, as a matter of historical fact, modern critical, scientific scholars find that there is not a single passage in any of the prophets that will bear this artificial interpretation. The prophets' work for social justice prepared the way for Jesus; but that is precisely what the orthodoxy of the past has obscured and kept away from the people. The struggle for justice, indeed, was the very force that ultimately swept away the false gods, that stood for injustice, and led to the victory of Monotheism.

But here again, a great truth is practically obliterated by the mythological story of "Mount Sinai," which asserts that Monotheism was passed down from heaven without any historical evolution. A circular, entitled Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God, will be sent to you upon receipt of a three cent stamp to cover mailing cost. If no stamp is forwarded, no circular will be sent. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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Theater

Robert Hatch

AFTER several evenings spent marveling at the dubious merchandise with which the show-business peddlers find they can attract a crowd, I am grateful to Christopher Fry for "The Dark is Light Enough." Though unlikely to please an audience as much as it obviously pleases its author, it is a play of sufficient moment to prevent your eyes from straying toward the nearest exit.

Mr. Fry calls it a winter comedy, by which he means that, despite a lightness of treatment, the content is serious. So it is—serious and important, though not sufficiently debatable to strike many sparks off the attending minds. His theme is that humanity has a value quite independent of its particular human example, that the champion of humanity must defend it on every occasion and not qualify his allegiance according to the merit of the individual. In short, charity is absolute.

How this might work out in practice the author demonstrates in three acts of very fine talk. His place is a country house not far from Vienna during the Hungarian revolt of 1848-49. The object of charity is one Richard Gettner, an Austrian who, having joined the rebel army, now deserts it in the hour of battle and seeks refuge with a family where he was once son-in-law. His protector is the Countess Rosmarin Ostenburg, a woman whose forebearance has won her a large following of admirers and a wide circle of influence, though not all her admirers are certain that her influence is harmless. A refusal to judge can so readily be interpreted as a failure to accept responsibility.

Gettner is a thoroughly worthless fellow, full of self-importance, quite without pride, intemperate and childish, and solicitude for him appears to cause pain in varying degree and in ever-widening circles. But the Countess's position is that we can never be sure of cause and effect; all we can be sure of is the human instance—of which Gettner is an example. There is a small epilogue to suggest that, at least momentarily, Gettner understands what he exemplifies.

Fry develops his thesis with a pleasant modesty, but he couches it in a style that is neither pleasant nor modest. He suffers again, as he always suffers, from a verbal facility that he will not curb. He chatters like a squirrel brought up on Oscar Wilde, never failing to see the epigram, never failing to pop it into some character's mouth, never noticing when the flow of language has broken its banks and become a flood of words. He employs a poetic license too large for his poetic gift. Fry is a moralist and it is ironical that his lust for rhetoric seduces him into the position that there is nothing good or evil but phrasing makes it so. It is still more ironical that in a time when most dramatists do not write elegantly enough, he makes a vice of elegance.

Katharine Cornell, as the Countess, bears the brunt of Fry's poetry, and she speaks it with astonishing endurance. But she gives me the impression that she is making a stage appearance, not participating in a play. It is a fault in great figures of the theater to use drama as a personal occasion, to suppose we come to revere a legend rather than to witness a performance. The problem is the director's, but Guthrie McClintic is too much part of the Cornell legend to cope with it.

Tyrone Power plays Gettner overloudly, for which he deserves some sympathy. It is the second principal part in the play, but it could be eliminated entirely and not be much missed. Gettner is what the play is *about*, but he is not really part of its action. The character keeps complaining that no one pays any attention to him, and Tyrone Power understandingly feels this to be a disadvantage.

Marian Winters, as the daughter of the house and one-time wife of Gettner, offers the warmest performance; she is the one person of the company who can make her feelings seem more than verse deep. Arnold Moss, as a Hungarian officer, is one of Shakespeare's innocent soldiers; William Podmore, Donald Harron, and John Williams, who attend the Countess, move about the stage like court gentlemen and handle Fry's beanbags dextrously. (Anta Theater.)

"SILK STOCKINGS" is the big new musical hit. Many people have been involved in bringing this successful venture into town and I do not intend to abuse them individually. The product is a cooperative disaster—tuneless, ugly, boring, and without taste. It contains three performers—Leon Belasco, Henry Lascoe, and David Opatoshu—who capably pursue the trade of burlesque comedy and who have been supplied by George S. Kaufman or Abe Burrows with jokes sufficient for their purpose. They are the only hint that converting "Ninotchka" into a musical comedy might have been a good idea. (Imperial Theater.)

"TONIGHT IN SAMARKAND" by Jacques Deval and Lorenzo Semple, Jr., is a reconstruction of the legend about the man who meets death in the market place and flees to an appointment with him in a distant town. This version is ingeniously put together, with some fine tricky scene shifts and some fine tricky plotting; more than that, it offers several attractive people, notably Louis Jourdan as a circus mindreader with a troublesome gift for prophecy, Jan Farrand as a passionate tiger trainer who has some trouble deciding between men and cats, and Theodore Bikel as an infinitely cynical and patient French detective. But the play is really a fidget; you wait around for three acts to see the promised trick. And in the end, the authors have to cheat a bit to accomplish their kismet. (Morosco Theater.)

IF YOU fed into an electric computer all the Irish whimsy that has appeared on the stage in the last forty years and instructed the machine to extract from it a new play, it could probably type out "The Wayward Saint" as well as Paul Vincent Carroll has done it. I failed to detect a new quirk of character or a fresh turn of phrase or plot in the whole script and can recommend

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it only to those who have not yet learned that the Irish live on terms of quaint familiarity with angels, demons, and the beasts of the field. Liam Redmond plays a meek-cocky priest who has modelled himself so closely on St. Francis that he is suspected of sanctity; Paul Lukas is a diabolic messenger sent to corrupt him (Mr. Lukas plays a shame-faced tempter, which *is* a novelty, but not one intended by the author of his embarrassment), and a man named Albert Corbin cavorts about in a lion skin. Mr. Carroll has some edifying message about the power of virtue. (Cort Theater.)

Records

B. H. Haggin

FURTHER hearing of the Columbia record of Berlioz's "Les Nuits d'ete" impels me to speak of it again —to report that each time I listen I am more overwhelmed by what comes off the record: not just Berlioz's music, but this music as it is performed by Steber and the orchestra under Mitropoulos; and not just the opulent and powerfully expressive singing and the excitingly enlivened orchestral playing, but the way these work together as an integrated progression—the way the successive orchestral details are colored and shaped and timed to work with the vocal phrase as comment and context. And this even when, occasionally, the progression moves too slowly and ponderously, or an upper note is shrill: these are not imperfections that lessen the magnitude of what one hears.

I heard something of this magnitude again when a guest for whom I played Tebaldi's performances of the Willow Song and Ave Maria from the new London recording of Verdi's "Otello" asked me to play the old Rethberg record of the two pieces. It was a long time since I had played it—long enough for me to be newly amazed. Tebaldi had given us an artful and tasteful deployment, in the musical phrases, of the ear-titillating resources of a luscious voice; from Rethberg we got the simplest possible emission of an exquisitely pure voice in continuous, sustained singing which articulated and shaped the phrases in overwhelmingly beautiful statements of the two pieces. After which we wondered at the fact that two such great performances hadn't been included by Victor on any of its various LP's devoted to great singers of the past; and we might have wondered also at the fact that with all the singer-cultists' effusions about Ponselle and Muzio and Mary Garden there hadn't been a word about the exquisite art with which Rethberg delighted music-lovers in the twenties and early thirties. (Nor for that matter has there been a word about the unique art that can be heard on Hempel's records; and whereas Victor has reissued on a couple of its LP's Rethberg's performances of the two arias from "Aida," it hasn't reissued a single solo performance by Hempel.)

Getting back to singers of today: the lovely mezzo-soprano voice, the superb style in ornamented cantilena, the brilliant bravura style in

The Lightfoot Conviction Must Be Reversed

On January 26, 1955, Claude Lightfoot, Illinois Communist leader, became the first person to be convicted under the "membership" provision of the Smith Act. He was sentenced to five years in jail and fined $5,000 for the sole crime of "knowing" membership in the Communist Party.

The trial was summarized by the American Civil Liberties Union, Illinois Division, in the following words:

". . . There was no charge nor was there any proof on the part of the Government of any overt act. There was no charge nor was there any proof of any conspiracy of which Lightfoot was a party. There was no charge nor was there any proof that the defendant himself believed in or made preparation for the overthrow of the Government. The proof presented by the Government was that Lightfoot read and disseminated information from certain books which in the *opinion* of the informants espoused the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, which theory, in the *opinion* of the witnesses, by necessity is to be equated with force and violence."

The Lightfoot conviction will be appealed. What is the meaning of this appeal, to democratic Americans?

"This case may, therefore, be the means of producing that comprehensive review of the Smith Act that the Supreme Court has so far avoided. . . . It is a case of such importance that lawyers and laymen alike must hope than an appeal can be presented which will induce the Supreme Court to review the Smith Act in its entirety. If it does so, and then upholds the Smith Act, then, indeed our concept of individual liberty as defined in the Bill of Rights must be considered to be changed forever." *The Louisville Courier Journal (1/27/55).*

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For more information on the Lightfoot Case write to:

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rapid florid passages that Giulietta Simionato exhibited in the old Cetra-Soria recording of Rossini's "La Cenerentola" are to be heard, better reproduced on London LD-9162, in *Una voce poco fa* from "The Barber of Seville," *Nacqui all' affanno* and *Non piu mesta* from "La Cenerentola," *O don fatale* from Verdi's "Don Carlo," and the unfamiliar and beautiful *Deh! tu bell' anima* from Bellini's "I Capuleti ed i Montecchi." Ghione conducts the Orchestra of the Academy of Saint Cecilia in Rome.

The "Rigoletto" offered by London LLA-25 has lovely and affecting singing most of the time by Gueden as Gilda (her voice is not at its best in *Caro nome*) and good and dramatically effective singing by Aldo Protti in the title role; it has Siepi as Sparafucile, Simionato as Maddalena; but right from the beginning in *Questa o quella*, the unpleasant voice of del Monaco, the Duke, is a blight on the performance, and the worse for being so close to the microphone. The poor microphone placement produces extremely bad balance between the singers and the Saint Cecilia Orchestra conducted by Erede—Rigoletto's *Cortigiani, vil razza*, for example, being sung not with an orchestra that rages but with one that is a whisper in the distant background.

Esoteric 520 offers a number of beautiful vocal pieces by Morley sung well by the Primavera Singers under Noah Greenberg, with a few pieces for virginals played well by Winogron. The recorded sound has an over-resonant sharpness that is lessened by reduction of treble.

Similar recorded sound exaggerates almost to absurdity the intensity that is one of the charms of the counter-tenor Russell Oberlin's performances of a number of fine Purcell songs on Esoteric 535, with harpsichord and viola da gamba played by Paul Maynard and Seymour Barab. I found it interesting to hear how differently, and how impressively in the different way, "Musick for a While" and "An Evening Hymn" are sung by the baritone John Langstaff on his Renaissance record of a few years back.

Much of Gluck's "Iphigenie en Tauride," which the American Opera Society performed for the first time in New York since 1917, has the loveliness and nobility of the more familiar works; but there are also occasional harmonic progressions and uses of wind-instrument color that are strikingly unusual and dramatic. Arnold U. Gamson again conducted a well-integrated performance, with especially beautiful singing by Leopold Simoneau, singing by Lucine Amara that was more beautiful in quiet melody than in powerful proclamation, and singing by Hugh Thompson which I hope was the result only of temporary hoarseness.

CORRECTION

In B. H. Haggin's article in the February 26 issue the first sentence in the fourth paragraph should have read: As it happened the recital was recorded and has now been issued on London LL-1108/9. . . .

Forum for Liberals

(Continued from Inside Cover)

Liberalism will have betrayed its traditional role in political life if it adopts the fatalism and pessimism which have gained currency among disillusioned radicals, theologians, and philosophers of history. A political movement or persuasion that is obsessed by the destructive impulses in men either will end up at the head of those impulses, or it will be destroyed by them.

Liberalism must continue the dreary work of so ordering society that barbarous impulses are checked and man's capacity for co-operation and self-control can be given full expression. In pursuing this objective, liberals must be sophisticated in considering which impulses are most important in human nature and which of them should be the targets of liberalism's appeal. But the "crisis" of liberalism will not be resolved merely by a revision of its traditional views of human nature, however desirable such a re-examination may be in and of itself. The problem of motives is important, but it is subordinate to the larger question of the tactics which should be employed in order that liberalism may straighten its ranks and resume the performance of its thankless tasks.

JONATHAN LIVERMORE

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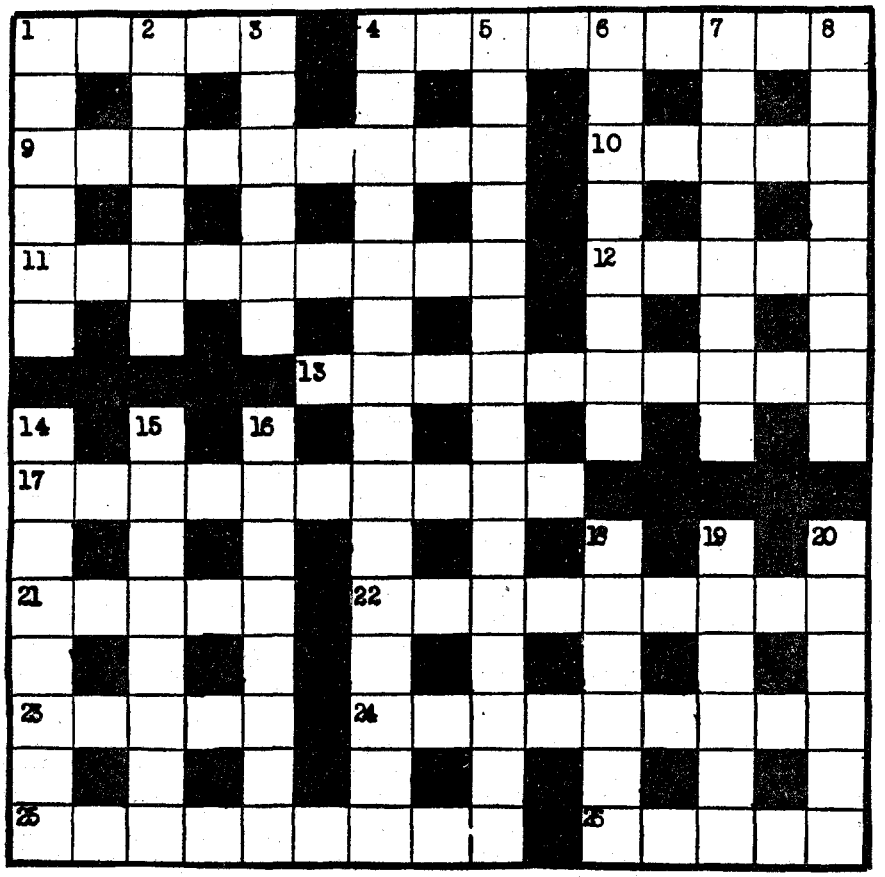
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Stops the mails being sorted. (5)
4 The mouse's does in "Alice" to help the plane along. (9)
9 Evidently such a paper doesn't have the old dash! (9)
10 Not the heroine of the musical "Order Arms." (5)
11 Star circulator? (9)
12 Last for the diva, first for the pops! (5)
13 Le tigre? (10)
17 Acting blithely, but in spirited fashion? (10)
21 Gather what might be said for someone. (5)
22 Cultivater — misspelled, but sort of rewarding! (9)
23 Reputedly a weeper. (5)
24 A hit may, as a general thing in Japan. (9)
25 Issues about Saroyan's name for lovers? (9)
26 This shot brings out the fool in me! (5)

DOWN

1 Subject to a penalty suggesting a low form of humor. (6)
2 Spreading thus the feathered member? (6)
3 Take food and work rations, for example. (6)
4 It starts a joke, but may be a deadly serious description. (4, 4, 4, 3)
5 Some of the more unfortunate were confined to these. (10, 5)
6 Tying things up. (8)
7 Born with half the score in reverse — in fact almost the whole score. (8)
8 Deceptively pleasing. (8)
14 Cry out in attitude of insurrection, as a way to prepare things. (8)
15 Mr. Pim? (8)
16 Fish oil container. (4, 4)
18 Wood block turned over early. (6)
19 Feels sorry for something that is in stones. (6)
20 Unmask. (6)

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